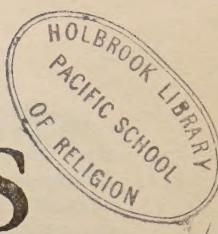


Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.



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Voices, and a Voice

BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM¹

(This article is an abridgement of the address delivered by Bishop Oxnam at the closing session of the National Study Conference on "The Churches and a Just and Durable Peace," Cleveland, Ohio, January 19, 1945.)

We have heard voices during these days, our voices, but I have heard and you have heard other voices. We have heard the voices of our sons, struggling upon a thousand battlefronts, speaking for themselves and their comrades forever silent. We heard similar voices a generation ago. . . . This Conference [also] has heard new voices, and has answered pledging itself to support the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as a first step and pledging itself likewise to improve them that they may be a more effective answer to the voices. I am strongly in favor of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. In them the nations of the world agree to use peaceful means to settle disputes; but they go beyond that. They provide the requisite force to restrain the gangster nation. Just as domestic law must be backed by the necessary power to enforce it, so, too, the international agreement to use peaceful means to settle disputes must be backed by sufficient force to restrain those who would make war. There are some who interpret Dumbarton Oaks in terms of its worst possibilities. They see nothing but a return to power politics. Is there any reason why we should not interpret Dumbarton Oaks in terms of its best possibilities? The truth is we have power politics at the moment. The representatives of the Churches, here assembled, have voted to support the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, as I say, as a first step. Improvements must be made. We must establish an organization. Otherwise, there is nothing to improve. There is, of course, justification of the criticism of Dumbarton Oaks on the alleged grounds that it is but a return to power politics, wherein three powers are to rule the world. All politics deals with power. The primary issue is to bring power under control. Each of the Big Three has power. At present, the individual nation is under no obligation to use that power, except as it determines. Dumbarton Oaks, on the contrary, brings that power under the control of solemn agreement. There can be no security for the small, except by agreement of the big. This is the first step. In it lies great hope. It does provide for the continuing collaboration of the United Nations, and eventually of all nations. It must be supported and improved.

That the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are less than the full Christian ideal is, of course, admitted. . . . We will take the first step toward world law and order that we may take the second step, and eventually march to the ideal. We move to the absolute by way of the relative. This is not to compromise, but to accept practical answers short of

the ideal provisionally, to the end that we may eventually reach the ideal.

We have heard the voices of "the scorned, the rejected, the men hemmed in with the spears," as Masefield puts it, the subject and dependent peoples, the masses of men "yearning to breathe free," the workers of the world who see realizable hope upon the horizon. There has been no dodging of the ethical demands of our faith in this Conference. We have spoken for the "unsegregated opportunity" for a man to earn his living, to serve his fellow-man, and to achieve the good life. We have called for a revision of our conceptions of property so that all property will be regarded as held in trust for the benefit of all men. This Conference has pledged itself to no economic system. It has been committed, of necessity, to the Christian faith which insists upon the supremacy of personality. Therefore, we have been free to call for such experimentation in the economic order that we may discover the means to realize the ethical ideals of religion. We have seen that private enterprise makes contribution to personality, and therefore are resolved to use it to the extent that it does make this contribution. We have seen, likewise, that the public corporation used to develop all of the resources, including human resources, in the Tennessee Valley is likewise a significant contribution to personality, and thus we are ready to extend its use to other great valleys. We have realized, too, that the collective answer makes substantial contribution as revealed, at present, in the reclamation of the desert, in our educational service to our children, in our plans for social security, and perhaps tomorrow in the reclamation of the great lands of the west by the building of the necessary dams and the provision of the necessary irrigation.

Thus we have sought to answer the voices that cry for justice, because we realize that the international issue is not one of the control of power alone. There is likewise the necessity of establishing justice. Justice demands, as we have said, the "unsegregated opportunity" for every man to earn his own living. It calls for fundamental readjustments in the economic life, to the end that our industrial machine shall be an instrument to serve the people rather than the possession of a few through which the people may be exploited. We must discover a synthesis through which we can conserve the creative initiative which flows from American individuals and, at the same time, appropriate the values that lie in collective action. Acquiescence in inequality must end. We must use our liberty to establish equality and thus move to fraternity. Justice moves from the domestic to the international sphere, and demands the goal of autonomy for all subject peoples. For those now ready, freedom must be given at once. For those not ready, an international trusteeship must provide the means for the development and eventual freedom of the people. "Subject peoples" must become a term no longer applicable to contemporary society. . . .

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We have heard the voices of the suffering in the war-torn areas and the voices, too, of our enemies. This Conference has not moved blindly into the realm of sentimentality. We have spoken in clear-cut terms concerning Germany and Japan. Justice must be meted out, and those who have been responsible for sinning such as the world has never known must stand before the bar of justice. We are resolved that no nation shall ever again be in the position to enslave humanity. Nonetheless, we have realized very clearly that there can be no universal association of nations until there has been a restoration of the enemies we have defeated, not a restoration to totalitarianism, but a restoration of the democratic forces among these people, the rebuilding of the economic life to the extent necessary to the well-being of the people, and those opportunities for cooperation that will mean the eventual unity of mankind. Thus we have insisted that we do not approach our enemies in terms of revenge. The vindictive spirit must be subdued. . . . We know that we cannot build in the emotional state of hatred, because we do not think clearly in such a state. It is a property of hate to destroy the object hated. We must face the morrow with clear minds. . . . We respond to the voices of our enemies with quiet insistence upon justice, without recourse to sentimentalism but with full allegiance to our faith, resolving that with justice must go understanding; that with faith there must be associated forgiveness; and that to build we resolve to think clearly, knowing that to do this we must be free from hatred and vindictiveness. . . .

We have heard the voices of the Churches of Europe, the Churches, too, of the world. The cathedrals may be in ruins and the little chapels may be destroyed; but the Church was never stronger. . . . The Church moves, we are told, into the center of the people's life, abandoning, we trust, forever, that periphery that was deadly. The Church is now concerned with all those social forces that play upon humanity, and is resolved that the Gospel must reach not alone the heart of the person but must live in the practices of society. After we have heard these voices and have answered, we have made it abundantly clear that our only desire is to help. We are resolved to extend the hand of fellowship, not the handicap of denominationalism. We wish nothing for ourselves. . . .

We have heard voices, yes, and a Voice. "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." Never before have I realized the compelling significance of the Voice. I have accepted my faith largely as a matter of inheritance. I have sought to understand it. Now I have seen it challenged by forces powerful enough to destroy at least its institutions and to imprison its exponents. When Hitler said, "To the Christian doctrine of the infinite significance of the individual, I oppose with icy clarity the saving doctrine of the nothingness of the individual," I heard a challenge that gave new meaning to my faith. It was my Lord who insisted that a person is of infinite worth, that man is worth more than a sheep, and I realized anew that He had revealed the moral law that lies at the heart of the universe. I realized as I never had realized before that the future of humanity lies in the proclamation and practice of my faith. When Mussolini—and to quote him now is like beating upon a broken drum—declared but yesterday to his troops, "Let's have done with this talk of brotherhood. The relations of states are the relations of force. One cry has come down upon the waves of the centuries and the series of generations, 'Woe to the weak,'" I understood at last the full meaning of our Christian doctrine that the strong are to bear the burdens of the weak. They do so not that the weak may remain weak but that, together, all of us may become strong. . . . Thus when I say, "Our Father"; when I repeat the Creed, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty," I find myself not merely affirming faith as a matter of religious routine but proclaiming the final answer to the final need of man.

We have heard voices and a Voice. And we have sought

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to answer. To the voices, we have answered in terms of concrete proposals. To the Voice, we have answered in terms of absolute loyalty. . . . [So] as I conclude I would quote again the first verse of the great hymn Professor Stidger has given us:

"Rise up, O World, the light is on the hill;
Face valiantly the work that lies ahead;
Thine is the task to do thy Master's will;
To this great day His mighty hand has led;
God's bugles blow, the dawn of light is here;
Stand on thy feet and put away thy fear!"

Guiding Principles of the Peace

CHARLES W. IGLEHART¹

We are grateful that the National Study Conference reaffirmed the "Principles" first laid down at Delaware in 1942. Facing immediate choices we must of course deal, as this recent Conference did, with such proposals as Dumbarton Oaks; for something like this is necessary as a next step out of our present world situation of continuing war. It is, we fear, scarcely more than a measure for freezing victory, a power-combination of victors, centering in their chiefs of staffs. But it has peripheral elements which may conceivably become a real influence in the reshaping of this war-peace-war instrument into one for permanent peace. So we must all deal with it, or with any future "realistic" proposals, with sympathy, patience, and some degree of commitment.

In the meantime, if we lose sight of our stars we are lost, for it is by these alone that we are to know our course and steer for the distant goal. As the war goes on and we become case-hardened to its inhumanity and accustomed to superficial analyses of its causes, we must return again and again to Guiding Principles. The first two as listed by the Commission are sufficient to help us hold the course: (1) "There is a moral order relevant to the ordering of human society. . . . (2) Penitence is demanded of us . . . we all share in responsibility for the present evils."

In a little group Kagawa once said: "As individuals we are human but in nations we are beasts." This war is a power-struggle between nation states, whatever elements it may have beyond that. Nations are at war because their citizens—because we—have let them deny a moral order in their patterns of corporate behavior. We have let God be ushered out of our domestic and international policies and have permitted sheer, naked self-interest to take His place. As Protestants we have always acquiesced in, and sometimes actually furthered this paganism of our national life. So we do need to repent rather than to condemn.

All wars are now civil wars. That is, modern war arises out of pressures and controversies met at common levels. It is a collision between moving objects which are on the same road, otherwise they could not collide. Directions may be different, though usually the worst casualties come from side-swipes, cutting in, and pushing over on parallel lanes. Let us try out this formula and see whether it may explain why it is Japan and not Korea that we are fighting in the Pacific, or Germany and not Rumania in Europe.

Pagan states are facing pagan states. We try to accent the difference between our political philosophy and that of our antagonists—and there are degrees of paganism, to be sure. But so long as we all agree that our nation's will is the ultimate in determining conduct, amenable to no higher law and to no outside force, all other ideological differences are trivial.

(Continued on page 11)

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The Binding Quality of Federation Fellowship

JACK RICHARD McMICHAEL

One month ago today I began this new work as Executive Secretary of the Federation. It has been for me a month of orientation: of meeting Federation friends and members in California, Denver, Lincoln, Des Moines and Ames, Chicago and Evanston, Indianapolis, Adrian, Ann Arbor and Detroit, and Oberlin. What are my dominant impressions as the fruit of this cross-country trip with its numerous contacts and conferences? First, I am impressed by the richness of the fellowship that binds together all who are in and with the Federation. What great spiritual inspiration it is to a socially concerned Methodist to know that he is not, and need never be, isolated merely because he takes with utter seriousness the full social imperative of the Christian gospel or because he seeks to translate that social imperative into the fabric of organized human life. This rich, binding quality of Federation fellowship helps explain why it is that folk, whom a few weeks ago I had never seen, seem now like life-long friends.

Secondly, I have been struck by the Federation's breadth and inclusiveness. Federation folk whom I have met voted in the last election for every political party on the ballot. United in its fellowship are sincere, outspoken pacifists and sincere, outspoken non-pacifists. Again, I have been inspired to observe the earnest devotion of so many folk to the Federation's basic goals. They are ready, yes eager, to act in service of these goals. They have been claimed by the compulsion of the Gospel to be ethically potent and socially effective in this crisis of human history. That claim of God upon them has been given special urgency today by what Paul called the "fellowship of suffering," an identification with the tragedy of our bleeding and suffering world. There was, for example, the girl in the Wesley Foundation at the University of Michigan. "I will join," she said, "the Federation. I will go further and help to organize a group here to carry out the Federation's goals. My fiancee is overseas in this war. Many like him will not return. It is not enough for us to talk about a future in which such separations are ended. It is necessary that we act. Such action will be more certain and more effective if it is united and if it is informed. That is why I am joining the Federation and why I shall cooperate with Mildred Sweet, our Wesley Foundation director, in helping to organize a functioning Federation local chapter."

Reporting this incident leads me to share another and most encouraging impression: the Federation's members are prepared and determined to go ahead. They recognize the necessity not only of vast and immediate expansion of membership, but of vast and immediate expansion of program vigor and effectiveness. A generation ago our nation had a disastrous "return to normalcy"—sugar-coated label for reaction (Ku Kluxism, labor-baiting, liberal-baiting, red-baiting, witch-hunting, Teapot Dome) and isolationism (high-tariff economic nationalism, rejection of the League and World Court, raising the ancient and cynical question: "Am I my brother's keeper?"). America cannot afford another world war through another return to normalcy, another victory for political, social and economic reaction. The current, bi-partisan vote of the Senate Commerce Committee against Henry Wallace and his program for full production, full employment, and maximum security; the deep and insidious presence of Nazi-like racial bigotry throughout our land (of which my recent trip furnishes many examples); the continued existence of latent isolationism—all of these ominous facts show that reactionary forces will again seek to "return to normalcy," which would sow the sure seeds for World War III. In brief, there is to America still a danger of fascism. The ancient word of God to Moses is His word to us today. Our task is not to "return," but to "go forward!" Here is imperative

enough for a vastly expanded and vigorous Federation in our day. Our members know this. They are ready to do something about it.

But in even more specific terms, just what do our members expect of the Federation? Along what lines would they have it go ahead? Space limitation dictates that I answer this not in full detail, but by brief snapshots from the centers visited on my cross-country trip. In northern California, Bay Area meetings were set up by Dr. C. C. McCown of the Pacific School of Religion and by Sarah Webb, Director of the Wesley Foundation of the University of California. In these meetings was evidenced the desire that the Federation continue to serve its members in the field of research and by supplying reliable information on social issues, especially such information as is omitted by the "kept" press. In Stockton, where Prof. George Colliver set up the meeting, it was felt that the Federation should help relate socially-minded Methodists with significant social forces in other churches and beyond the boundaries of official ecclesiasticism. In Los Angeles, where Dr. James E. Dunning set up meetings and where an old Emory friend, Ernest Thracker, took special care of me, Prof. Walter G. Mueler (formerly of Berea, Kentucky, and an old valued colleague in the Southern Student Christian Movement) joined others in stressing as a major Federation task that of providing its members and local groups with techniques of effective social action. Certainly there are plenty of folk in the churches who have splendid attitudes and social convictions, paralleled by relative failure to carry those attitudes and convictions out in effective social action. When the mayor and sheriff of Los Angeles recently issued statements detrimental to democratic and brotherly relations with returning Japanese-Americans, a Roman Catholic group spoke out immediately and constructively; but our Methodist groups were silent and ineffective. We are too much in the habit of contenting ourselves by waiting for the next Annual Conference session to pass a good "strong resolution." The Federation, say our Los Angeles friends, should help organize and prepare local and regional church groups for effective rapid action as problems come up.

In Denver, a group is under way led by Ken Smith (a dear old friend who took special care of me during my days there) and Russ Daughenbaugh (who has charge of the renowned labor church and community center there while "Wally" is on leave for overseas service with UNRRA). One of the ablest men in Denver is a layman, Mr. Fox. He stresses the importance of legislative action and wants the Federation to help supply local and regional groups with pointed, pertinent and up-to-date facts concerning bills in Washington—as tools for citizenship action. In Lincoln, Dr. Lloyd H. Rising was responsible for the splendid hospitality accorded me and for the many meetings set up. At one of them stress was laid on the too frequently neglected rural problem and on the Federation as an organization which should help to close the tragic gap between America's farmers and workers. This might be facilitated by close cooperation with such a progressive farm organization as the National Farmers Union. (At Denver, John Wade of Iliff had introduced me to the Union's leaders at national headquarters; and they had assured me that such cooperation was forthcoming.) In Des Moines, Dr. Frank A. Lindhorst called together a group of key leaders in the office of Bishop Brashares. At this meeting initial steps were taken for the organization of a going Federation chapter in the Iowa-Des Moines Conference. One request which came out of that meeting was for help to church leaders on how to get to know and work with the labor leaders and organizations in their communities. Rev. Sam Nichols of Ames stressed the necessity for socially minded

Christians to engage in political action, and he wanted the Federation to be of service at this point. In Chicago, Ray Bond (whose son took me for a wonderful afternoon of skiing and tobogganning!) set up the meetings. Stress was laid here on the role of the Federation as a conscience-quicken organization within the Church. Our criticism of society, as Christians, will be much more effective if and as we employ prophetic self-criticism with reference to the Church of which we are a part. In Chicago, for example, our Methodist Ministers' meeting called on the hotels to end their discrimination against Negroes; but our Federation folk pointed out that our own Church there runs a camp from which pigmented children are barred. The same problem and emphasis was stressed at Evanston where Northwestern University, a traditionally Methodist school, was said by its students to have rigid color bars—in defiance not only of its own Christian principles, but of the Illinois Civil Rights Law. An old friend, Mrs. Eugene Durham, brought a group of Methodist Northwestern students into her home to meet me around the supper table. What a day I had in Evanston! Conferences with President Smith, Dr. Rall, Whitechurch, Barnett and others, and with students. There are great possibilities for the Federation at Garrett. In Chicago, also, it was my privilege to meet with Rev. D. D. Turpeau and some other Negro ministers of the Lexington Conference. They are interested in working with the Federation, but feel that they should work in and with the Rock River Federation group in Chicago rather than set up a separate group merely because Methodism's jurisdictional set-up draws the color line. Last, but not least at Chicago, a delightful meeting in the hospitable home of Dr. W. W. Sweet, with a small group of Methodist students.

In Indianapolis, Henry Meyer was my hospitable host, and Blaine E. Kirkpatrick had helped in setting up the meeting. One Federation function stressed in Indianapolis was that of aiding and sharpening the social outlook of Methodism's official agencies and publications. It was hoped that the Federation could help these publications to become more effectively incisive, concrete, and pointed on pressing social issues. It was interesting after Indianapolis to visit Adrian College in Michigan, formerly a Methodist Protestant institution, printing locus for the *Michigan Christian Advocate* and unique in the extent to which the Cooperative Movement is practiced right on campus and the students work their way through school. In meetings at Adrian stress was laid on the peculiar task of the Federation in stressing the economic factor in all our burning social issues, including that of race relations. At Ann Arbor the students confronted the fact that they were not organized either to discover or to act on the pressing social issues present on their own campus. The Federation was looked to for particular help as to how a sound and effective social action group can be organized and run. In Detroit, meetings were arranged by Owen Geer and Dr. Henry H. Crane. Both were all-out in their enthusiasm for Federation expansion. One of the numerous young adults in Dr. Crane's church, who joined the Federation under his encouragement, is a union man. He introduced me to leaders in Detroit's A. F. of L. headquarters. Some of these leaders are frankly critical of the Church's labor role in the past, but anxious to effect closer working cooperation with the Church in the present and future. Significant steps in that direction have already been taken, and Detroit is worth watching in that regard. My last, and busiest (!) stop was at Oberlin, where hospitable Dr. Clarence T. Craig had arranged a total of six group meetings during my one day there. One of these meetings was attended by a splendid group of devoted ministers and laymen, some of whom had driven over sixty miles through ice and snow to get there. It was stressed here that the Federation should be clearly grounded and oriented in the revolutionary imperatives which spring from the Christian Gospel.

Everywhere members and friends demand that the Federation be a true pioneer in breaking down unbrotherly

barriers and opening up equality of opportunity. Everywhere there is insistence on the directly related imperative for an economy of abundance with maximum production and useful jobs for all. Our America which has found jobs for all in war must and can find useful jobs for all in peace, lest the door to fascist reaction and violent class and racial strife be opened and the children of today be assured of more disastrous war. There is united affirmation by our members across the country that such democratic and progressive transformation within our and other nations can be effected most surely and speedily within the framework of close and responsible international cooperation.

We have spoken of the rich and inspiring fellowship within the Federation. It is our task to share that inspiration with others. We have spoken of the Federation's breadth and inclusiveness. Our task is to maintain and undergird that breadth. Ours is not to exclude, but to include all who, with us, seek an unreservedly brotherly and cooperative world in which are shattered the barriers and discriminations which separate man from his brother and in which the passion and final prayer of Jesus are answered: "*Ut omnes unum sind*—That they all may be one!" Our task is not to exclude, but to include all who, with us, seek that era in which men will follow Jesus in finding their greatness not at the expense of, but in the service of, their fellows. Ours is to bring together all who are determined that in the days ahead our economic, as well as political, order will be of, by, and for the people—our brothers and sisters—as a whole. Together we move into the future. With eyes open to the dangers but with highly expectant faith and with courageous dedication we seek to mould that future in the service of God and man.

Cooperation

TOAD LANE, ROCHDALE, CELEBRATES.—On the afternoon of December 21, 1944, the old narrow road gaily decorated with cooperative banners and flags of many nations, the lock was turned in the door of the old store where one hundred years before to a day the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers began business. The ceremony was enacted as symbolical of the opening of the second century of Cooperation. Telegrams of congratulation were read from cooperators all over the world—thirty-four from Swedish societies alone. At a largely attended Rochdale Centenary Celebration held two days before, the First Lord of the Admiralty, A. V. Alexander, had declared in an address that if the principle of cooperation was applied to the whole of Britain's internal economy the surplus returned to the consumer would increase consumer purchasing power by three hundred million pounds a year, an amount sufficient to solve by increased purchase of foods and services, one-half the nation's peace-time problem of unemployment.

COOPERATIVE PROGRESS IN ICELAND.—The smallest Republic in the world, with a total population of only 125,000 people, is in some ways one of the most progressive. The growth of cooperative societies is a point in evidence. The first society organized in 1882, by a group of well educated farmers, the movement now embraces 50 affiliated societies with 21,462 members serving two-fifths of all families in the country. Of Iceland's total agricultural products eighty-five per cent are marketed through cooperatives. The Federation of Iceland Cooperative Societies is the largest single business in the country.

CONSUMER SAVINGS.—Agricultural economist of the Farm Credit Administration, Joseph C. Knapp, estimates that the seventeen largest cooperative purchasing associations in the United States during the fiscal year ending in 1943 saved consumers not less than \$17,702,625 on their purchases. These savings were made on a total volume of business of \$336,133,612. Of these savings \$12,087,956 was paid out directly in patronage cash dividends; the remainder credited on stock purchases and retained in consumer-owned reserves.

"I know your life"

To the angel of the Church in Laodicea write: "These are the words of the Unchanging One, 'the Witness faithful and true, the Beginning of the Creation of God,'—I know your life; I know that you are neither cold nor hot. Would that you were either cold or hot! But now, because you are lukewarm, neither hot nor cold, I am about to spit you out of my mouth. You say 'I am rich and [have become wealthy], and I want for nothing' and you do not know that you are wretched, miserable, poor, blind, naked! Therefore I counsel you to buy from me gold which has been refined by fire. . . . Therefore be in earnest and repent. I am standing at the door and knocking!"—Revelation 3:14-20. The Twentieth Century New Testament.

Is the Church of today capable of giving an authentic lead out of world chaos? Is Christian control of society as at present constituted conceivable? By no less a challenge than this is organized religion today confronted.

We do well again and again to remind ourselves of the declaration of the group of laymen printed by *Fortune Magazine*: "We are asked to turn to the Church for enlightenment, but when we do so, we find the voice of the Church is not inspired. The voice of the Church today we find is the echo of our own voices. . . . The way out is the sound of a voice—not our voice—but a voice coming from something not ourselves, in the existence of which we cannot disbelieve. It is the earthly task of the pastors to hear this voice, to cause us to hear it, and to tell us what it says. If they cannot hear it, or if they fail to tell us, we as laymen are utterly lost." Five years have not answered this desperate cry for deliverance which in the deepened confusion of today is reuttered with more poignant urgency than ever before.

What is the answer? Great numbers of men and women, among them many of the most intelligent and morally earnest people to be found—and it seems probable an increasing number—are convinced that the Church of today does not have the answer. Christianity, they frankly declare, in its present organizational form has little or no relevance to the problems presented by present-day society. Not only does it not have the answer; it does not have any answers other than the superficial mouthing of unseeing men—"our voices"—and the shibboleths which in another age were pregnant with dynamic meaning but which have long since lost vital significance. When the Church speaks on burning problems (which is not often: consult the sermon topics published in your daily of last Saturday) it speaks almost invariably, as the laymen declared, in a voice which "is the echo of our own voices."

One of the reasons is so evident that it is a matter of common observation: the pattern of the Church's life is not markedly different from that of the life of its environsociety. There is little to distinguish the average churchman from the average man of the world. The inequities, the injustices, the anti-social attitudes against which a war is being waged, in which many of our brothers and our sons and daughters are giving their lives, are to be found in essence in the standards, the attitudes, and the practices of great numbers of church members. And for the most part with these secular, worldly standards the Church is content. No widespread conviction of sin prevails concerning them. Instead, in general an easy-going, pleasing complacency rules.

What is required, as J. Middleton Murray has been repeatedly saying in Great Britain, is a type of Christianity capable of thinking, speaking and acting "in a new dimension". As he has written, "If there is a Christianity that is capable of it, for Heaven's sake let it speak, and say clearly that . . . society can be controlled for Christian ends: and that this, and this, and this, is necessary to be done".

It is futile to think that the Church, and the Churches, in any wholesale way will re-create any such relevant type of Christianity. But it is reasonable to hope that within the mass membership of the Churches as at present constituted there are individuals and groups—groups principally of youth and young adults—who are ready to undertake the kind of disciplined life out of which there may be expected to come a new dimension Christianity, capable of grappling creatively with the forces that today are destroying the world. It is this idea that Franklin H. Littel presents in the series of articles, the first of which is found elsewhere in this issue of the BULLETIN.

Malicious Libel Expensive

It proved to be in the instance of the *Saturday Evening Post*'s article in the September 2, 1939, issue by Benjamin Stolberg. Named in the article, among others, were Jerome Davis, Union Theological Seminary (1920); Columbia, Ph.D. (1922); Oberlin, D.D. (1933); president of the American Federation of Teachers (1936-1939); occupant of the chair of Practical Philanthropy, Yale Divinity School (1924-37); and author, among a number of books, of "Capitalism and Its Culture" (1935). Possibly emboldened by the edging of Davis out of his Yale professorship—as was believed by many because of his critical treatment of the evils of capitalism—Stolberg singled out Davis for special attack, characterizing him as "a Communist wrecker of American labor". Libel action was brought by Dr. Davis for \$150,000 against the Curtis Publishing Co. and the writer of the article. On the first trial of the case in May-June, 1943, the jury disagreed. On January 17th the case was again called in the Supreme Court of New York State before Justice Ferdinand Pecora. When called to the stand Dr. Davis testified to an offer by the defendants of \$11,000 and stated that he was agreeable to a judgment in that amount.

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Working Plan for Annual Conference Promotion

Correspondence coming to the Central Office indicates that additional Conference groups will soon be enlisted in expanding Federation membership and in developing vigorous Annual Conference units. Requests have come for suggestions on how to proceed. In any Conference where there is even a small nucleus of socially concerned men willing to do a reasonable amount of personal work the following procedure can be depended upon to produce results.

1. Get the group together or, if this is not possible, as many as can be brought together even if not more than three or four.

2. Choose a temporary Chairman and a Membership Secretary. With the Conference Journal in hand make a preliminary list of people who want to see the Church function more effectively as a dynamic force for social progress: (a) pastors; (b) lay leaders of the churches; (c) lay women; (d) youth; (e) social workers; (f) representatives of organized labor; (g) persons concerned with problems of rural welfare.

3. Decide upon a tentative goal in number of members and amount of subscriptions toward which your group will work. A minimum of one hundred members as suggested in the October BULLETIN (p. 5), is urged. One hundred members, divided among the categories named above, is a *possible goal* for any Conference—not to be reached immediately but by patient, systematic effort.

4. Write Central Office for: (a) a list of Federation members in the Conference, active and inactive, to be used to supplement the locally prepared list; (b) informational material on the Federation, and Membership Application cards.

5. Write *personal letters* (or better still, interview) at least ten or twelve of the persons on the compiled list whom you know to be socially-minded Christians, telling them of your plans and asking them to become members of the *organizing group*.

6. When this enlarged group has been formed divide your list of prospective members proportionately among those who will agree to see—or, in the case of those with whom a personal interview is impossible—to write those whose names have been given them. *Do not depend upon a mimeographed letter.* It will not bring results.

7. Be persistent in follow-up. Do not expect the first letter in every case to be answered. Write a second and a third. More if necessary. "But this will take work." Certainly it will. Nothing worthwhile is accomplished without effort. The anti-social forces in American life are tremendously in earnest and incessantly active. If we are not willing to do more than to pass idealistic resolutions in Annual Conference sessions we might as well acknowledge that the cause of Christian social order is already lost.

8. Plan at least three months in advance for a Federation meeting at your next Annual Conference session at which (a) report will be made of what has been accomplished; (b) permanent organization will be effected; (c) plans made for Social Action during the year ahead.

9. Correspond with the office concerning possible attendance of the Executive Secretary. If he cannot attend your meeting this year, consult the list of Federation speakers in the December and March BULLETINS for possible speakers.

Churches Contribute

An increasing number of local churches are recognizing the Federation in their benevolent budgets. Since the beginning of our promotional effort in June, 1944, fifteen churches have sent contributions ranging from \$5 to \$50. Among churches from which contributions have come recently are: Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Mich.; Community Church, Jackson Heights, Long Island; First Methodist Church, Greeley, Colo.; Norwalk Methodist

Church, Norwalk, Conn.; Maspeth Methodist Church, Maspeth, New York; Vincent Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Cal.; Woodmere Methodist Church, Woodmere, New York; Woodstock Methodist Church, Woodstock, Ill.

Fiscal Year

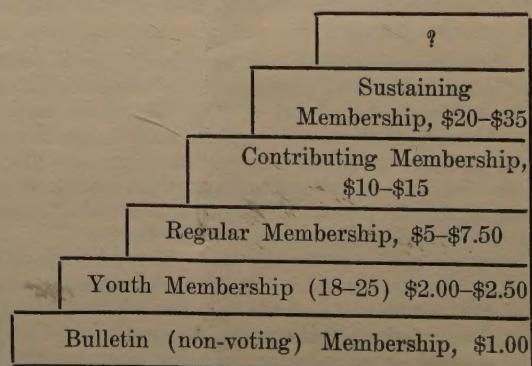
Attention is again called to the fact that the fiscal year of the Federation, as fixed by the Executive Committee, is the same as the World Service year of the Church, June 1-May 31. Since January 1st a number of contributions have been received from members marked "For 1945". All such contributions have been credited on the current fiscal year. June 1, 1944-May 31, 1945 is the first fiscal year of the quadrennium for which a subscription total of \$10,000 annually has been asked. The goal is in sight, but as yet far from reached.

Why Not Step Up Your Contribution?

One of several elements of hope for a living budget for the Federation is the demonstrated willingness of many members to increase their Membership Subscriptions. This is indicated by the fact that, whereas, of 1828 members of the Federation reported for the fiscal year October 1, 1940-September 30, 1941, 1431 (seven-ninths) were BULLETIN members, contributing \$1.00 only per year, of the 1169 persons sending Membership Subscriptions between June 1 and November 30, 1944, only 332 (less than one-third) are BULLETIN members. In the former year only 309 (one-sixth) subscribed \$5 per year or more, while in the latter six-months period 642 (more than one-half) of the Membership Subscriptions are for \$5 or more. Within this group are 135 Contributing Members (subscribing from \$10 to \$20); and 51 Sustaining Members (subscribing \$20 or over). A few Sustaining Members have subscribed \$50, \$100, \$125 and \$150.

If in the past you have held only a BULLETIN (non-voting) Membership (\$1), or if within the past eight months you have sent in a BULLETIN Membership Subscription, why not step up your contribution at least to a \$5 Regular Membership, thus aiding the Federation to get on a basis that will support a vigorous Church-wide program? Additional reason for this is the increased size of the BULLETIN. For years the issues of the BULLETIN have had four pages. During the current fiscal year the June issue carried eight pages; October, eight pages; and November, December, January, and February, twelve pages each—three times the former size. The Federation hopes to continue the twelve-page issues and will be able to do so if BULLETIN Members will increase their Membership Subscriptions.

Whatever step you were on last year, step up one this year—if you can. If this plan is adopted by a majority, the 1944-45 budget will be raised in short order.



A Cell in Every Church

FRANKLIN H. LITTELL¹

In certain periods of Christian history sensitive people become painfully aware that old words with careless use have become slippery, and that old ways are treacherous underfoot. Conscious of living "between the times," they are driven to the consideration of their problems and needs, and to the shaping of their common life to a new ideal of community. In quiet exploration they discover anew the vital fraternity of the Church at Jerusalem where all they that believed lived the common life "and the Lord added to them daily such as should be saved" (Acts 2:47). The joyful naivete of the new-born replaces the old proprieties and gives freshly-formed expression to the surging desires of new social classes. This working unit in our own time is usually called "the Cell," a term describing a living thing which grows and subdivides and becomes a whole body.

Emphasis on the organization of groups for disciplined living may be found in all epochs of religious awakening. In the sixth and seventh centuries western Christianity was most vigorously represented by the monks who travelled from Iona by Oban² to England and the Continent in bands of twelve, imitating by organization as well as in principle the simplicity of the apostles. George Fox thought six the ideal number for missionary bands. After six years of earnest group living the "Holy Club" at Oxford numbered six men. In the main, the method is to emphasize compactness as over against fragmentation and individualism, and to develop an internal ethic of high and vigorous quality.

Attempt "to plant an incompatible idea" in the present age may seem as foolish as Jeremiah's purchase (Jeremiah 32:6 ff.), but in time to come it may also herald the renewal of the everlasting covenant. The fertility of an idea rests upon its relation to a community of strong training, a fellowship of "athletes of the spirit." For history is moved not by disembodied ideas, but by select groups which discipline themselves in ideology and tactical science to bring to pass the things of their high calling. "In civilization, cells of creativeness . . . withdraw like seeds into the earth, to return as creative minorities to give light to the uncreative masses, to give hope and show the Way to those that are in dark despair. The creative minorities are the salt of the earth—they are the leaven that shall leaven the whole lump."³

In the American churches we have sadly lost the sense of covenantal responsibility which has made the continental groups strong in the face of oppression.⁴ Visser t'Hooft has commented that we in America seem "to preach to the world as though it were the Church." That is, we have lost the sense of special calling and unique commitment which marks a vigorous community. And we have also lost the power to bring things to pass that characterizes fellowships with disciplined purpose and program. In arguing a similar case for the "cell," Dan West of the Church of the Brethren builds on the text, "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light" (Luke 16:8). For those who repudiate Christianity have been wiser than we in preserving an essential teaching of Biblical religion: that history is moved by select peoples. The success of Hitler may be in large part attributed to his sure grasp of this historical principle, in distinguishing between "sup-

porters" and "members," and between "propaganda" and "organization."¹

There are some progressive movements today which have re-discovered the importance of keeping the basic unit small if much is to happen. The Modern Churchman of Scotland, with the pastors and laymen rallying about it, has formed cells in many parishes. The Malvern Conference (1941) rightly called upon the Church to set its own house in order, and recommended: "Where possible, the whole congregation habitually worshipping together should regularly meet to plan and carry out some enterprise, however simple, for the upbuilding of its community life and for the general good. . . . In other places, let 'cells' be formed upon the basis of common prayer, study and service. . . . The Church might further encourage the development of ways and means, whether through membership of a Third Order or otherwise, which would enable men and women to live under a definite discipline and rule whilst following the ordinary professions of life."² The 1941 Conference on Disciplined Life and Service analyzed the weakness of the church in the face of world crisis, and warmly recommended the local fellowship group as a technique for its strengthening.³

The relation of the "cell" technique to lay education is vividly illustrated by the teaching of Father Coady and his associates at St. Francis Xavier University. In Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island there were, by 1938, 1400 study clubs of 15,000 people meeting regularly as cooperative buying groups and for study. Here many fishermen and their families learned to read and write intelligently. They learned the inadequacy of individualism. As one of them said, relating his experience to the 1937 Rural and Industrial Conference at Antigonish: ". . . the story of how I fought the depression is not my story alone. It is the story of hundreds of fishermen of the coast who have fought through as I did and it is those other fishermen who fought through me. For I did not fight as an individual. All my life I had been fighting as an individual. But hard times drove home the fact that that was the wrong way. So we fishermen got together and through organization, study, cooperation have fought our way through. At least we're part way through. We've a long way to go yet. But we're going and we know now that we're much better off than we were six years ago. . . ."⁴ If people can learn to read and write in small fellowships, they can also learn literacy in the things of social Christianity.

The problem in our churches may be most accurately understood as one of lay education. It has been established that our situation is comparable to that of the church following the mass conversions of the Roman Empire.⁵ With masses of first and second generation Christians in the churches, it is small wonder that the techniques of mass revivalism are still central in church programs. But the prevailing illiteracy is such that concern is turning steadily toward the techniques of lay training. And we are coming to realize that a sound pastoral sense is at least as important in a minister as the ability to talk. A socially-minded leader who contents himself with being "right" on the issues, without training his congregation in their function as a divinely commissioned community, is both irresponsible and out of date.⁶

(Continued on page 11)

¹ Discussed by D. Elton Trueblood, *The Predicament of Modern Man* (Harper's, 1944), 2d edition, pp. 93 ff.

² "The Malvern Manifesto" (Committee on the Malvern Movement; C.L.I.D., 155 Washington Street, New York 6, N. Y. 5¢).

³ The Newsletter of the Conference reports the activities of various "cells" and fellowships (Lane Hall, Ann Arbor, Michigan. 50¢ per year).

⁴ Quoted by Helen Dingman in "Ideas Are More Powerful Than Bullets," *Mountain Life and Work* (April, 1938), p. 4.

⁵ Latourette, Kenneth Scott, "New Perspective in Church History," *The Journal of Religion* (October, 1941), pp. 432-43.

⁶ Brunner, Emil, *The Church and the Oxford Group* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1937).

¹ Franklin H. Littell is director of the Student Religious Association, Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

² Iona has been reborn in our own time under the leadership of George F. MacLeod and is again a significant center of social Christianity. Their organ is *The Coracle*, Acheson House, Canongate, Edinburgh 8.

³ Batterham, Arthur, "Community in the Light of History," based on Arnold J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*, in *Community in a Changing World* (Community Service Committee, Chancery, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey, England).

⁴ Note the argument throughout Karl Barth's *The Church and the Political Problem of Our Day* (Scribner's, 1939).

I Am Driven to the Wall

LOIS B. MURPHY¹

The war generation of students that I meet and teach is starting college, in relation to their awareness of certain social problems, a long way ahead of any group I have known before, even during the depression. Their brothers, their friends, their fiancées, their husbands are fighting,—in Europe or the Pacific,—for democracy. Democracy thus comes to be something that cannot be taken for granted; it is an urgent necessity to be made *real* here at home, *now*.

This feeling is so urgent that many young people are impatient, irritable, hostile,—to the laws, the institutions, the people, who seem to them to be perpetuating undemocratic ways. This is especially true in the field of race relations, where it is hard for them to think systematically about the concrete ways of realizing democracy; they do not want to see time being wasted—they want things to be different immediately.

Where in former years the teacher's task has been to awaken them to the existence of the problem, they are now impatient of the teacher who stops short of urging complete social acceptance of persons of the several racial minorities. When the question of intermarriage is mentioned some of them say, "So what! Five hundred years from now we hope there will be no color line. You have to begin some time if you want to have progress." They are oblivious to the maladjustments that may result from too hasty widespread action and they find it incredible that some Negroes feel that it is most important to guide increasing race contacts intelligently.

"What can we do about the dyed-in-the-wool old conservatives who block progress in race relations in the South?" asked one southern girl, heatedly. A northern girl with equal intensity exploded, "Well, the narrow-minded old stuffed shirts who try to keep this town restricted can't have their way forever. It's time things were different."

When concrete situations are related for illustration, they still have difficulty in seeing the complexity of the problem. A particular instance will illustrate the point. A group of students were told about this situation: a liberal family wished to sell their attractive house in an upper-middle-class suburb recently. A pleasant and cultivated Negro family wished to buy the house. The neighborhood was populated chiefly by business people of conservative views who were shocked, distressed, and violently upset when they heard of this possibility, although there were four or five upper-class Negro families in the suburb at a distance of one-half mile to one mile scattered in three directions. The only people in the neighborhood who were able to accept the possibility of having Negroes as neighbors were the ministers of the local churches.

The students felt that the house should unquestionably be sold to the Negro family, and were amazed when they were told that at least one of the Negro families in the suburb felt it would be a mistake for this to be done; they felt that in view of such strong feeling it would be a situation in which white families might "dump" their houses on the market, thus stimulating Negro families to buy who would not be able to pay the taxes and keep up the property, which would then deteriorate and produce another Harlem in miniature. Such results had happened in other areas where Negroes moved in too rapidly or into a group too easily disturbed.

I am giving this example not to state a solution of the problem, but to illustrate the teaching problem that exists today when young people are so emotionally excited about social issues that they cannot see them concretely nor think clearly about the best ways and means of achieving pro-

gress—progress that is progress, not "one step forward, two steps backward." There can be no question but what this new social awareness on the part of young people offers exceptional opportunity to pastors and teachers for significant social education, but to make the most of the opportunity thoughtful attention and imagination must be used in the discovery and use of effective techniques.

I found that in order to work this out several steps were necessary: (a) giving the students ample opportunity to express their feelings; (b) exposing them to a variety of kinds of Negroes in different situations, in order to remind them that, like white people, some Negroes have characteristics which to other people, white and black, are objectionable; (c) assigning a variety of concrete problems to be thought through; (d) helping them to see that much of their discussion was on a wishful-thinking basis which was not socially efficient; (e) bringing them back to immediate steps which they themselves could take. For instance, we visited Negro girls in a reform school who were in many cases, uneducated, crude, and unattractive; we attended the play, Carmen Jones, and the dancing in the night-club scene was repulsive to many of them. In discussing these and other experiences, the fact was brought out that part of the basis for prejudice toward Negroes lies in the crudeness, primitiveness, and sensuousness of some groups, and the further fact that many white people have never been in contact with cultivated, refined Negroes—they have had not experience which would help them realize the potentialities for achievement of Negroes who have had adequate educational opportunities. Education of white people about Negroes came to be considered of equal importance with educational opportunities for Negroes.

Among the concrete problems we tried to think through by frank pro and con discussion were such questions as these: (a) granted that you are glad to have a small handful of brilliant and charming Negro students here at college, how would you feel and act if half the college were Negro, including a cross-section, many of whom would not be so brilliant or attractive as those we now have? (b) How would you feel about having a Negro room-mate? (c) Would you like to have Negro teachers?

The result of extended discussion over a period of several weeks was that the students became quieter and were thoughtful, more ready to consider problems in practical terms, more understanding of the difficulties experienced by people in achieving freedom from prejudice. They saw the situation as a complicated problem to be worked at. Nevertheless, they remain much more radical than any groups of adults I know. For instance, intermarriage still seems to many of them to be an obvious and desirable part of progress toward assimilation and elimination of race conflict.

Toward Mutual Understanding

As a result of informal meetings attended by ministers and labor leaders during the past year in Columbus, Ohio, noticeable gain in mutual understanding has been made. So reports John G. Ramsay, United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.), whose commission is one of fostering better relations. "There is real longing in the hearts of leaders of organized labor to be understood and accepted in the spiritual life of the nation. There is an increasing tendency for labor and religion to look forward to the future together. . . . Labor and the Church have a common social program. . . . Then let's both end the name calling. Labor is calling too many people fascists. Too many church people are calling labor communist. . . . There is a great need in our nation for men to know each other and together grow in a common experience."

¹ Lois B. Murphy is a member of the faculty of Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, teaching in the general fields of psychology and the social sciences.

Social Issues in Today's World

Rural Life and Welfare

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN CANADA.—Rapid progress toward farm electrification was made in the three prairie provinces of Canada during the past summer. In three extensive areas of Alberta: around Swalwell in southern Alberta; near Vegreville, east of Edmonton, the capital; and roundabout Olds, south of Edmonton, on hundreds of farms kerosene lamps have been discarded and electric light and power installed. A survey made by the Research Council of Alberta reports that 30,000 farms of that province can be served with electric power at a cost well within their reach. Manitoba and Saskatchewan have plans under way for the electrification of a majority of their farms.

LAND FOR THE LANDLESS SOLDIER.—An organized movement is being promoted by the National Share-croppers Fund (8 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.) in behalf of providing land ownership for the "more than two million sons of southern farm families now in the armed services of the United States." In the early thirties when the great majority of these young men were children farm families of the "sharecropper country", with approximately 4,250,000 children, received three per cent of the national income, while northeastern non-farm people, with approximately 8,500,000 children, received forty-two per cent of the national income.

It is proposed, as a Magna Charta for southern agriculture, that every veteran of the armed services who shall have been discharged under conditions other than dishonorable, shall have the right, subject to reasonable tests as to his ability and experience as a farmer, to government aid in securing ownership of a fairly-valued, "family size" farm. The size of such farm will vary in different localities, according to the conditions of the soil, crops and climate, but in every case the measure will be the ability of the farm, under careful cultivation, to support adequately a family. The inclusion of every item of labor-saving machinery necessary in the operation of the specific farm is envisaged.

It is further proposed that the purchase be financed by an appropriate public agency, either through direct loan or through total government guarantee of any loan contracted through ordinary commercial channels. Cheap credit, not to exceed four per cent per annum, and long-term amortization privileges of not less than twenty years, are contemplated. It is held to be essential that there be no discrimination on account of race, creed, or color, and specifically between Negro and white, in the administration of these benefits.

The movement is sponsored by such well-known persons as Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, Eduard C. Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work, Bishop Herbert Welch of the Methodist Church, and many others of like prominence.

COOPERATIVE FARM CREDIT SYSTEM.—How long will it be before farmers develop their own credit resources? This can be done through Credit Unions and cooperative banking whenever a sufficient number of farmers are prepared to exercise adequate initiative. Short-term credit at minimum expense is indispensable for efficient farming operations. It will never be available until farmers themselves set up their own agencies, of and by and for themselves.

The production credit associations provided for in the act of 1933 creating the Farm Credit Administration were supposed to develop into cooperatives, owned and controlled by their farmer borrowers. But the expected development has not taken place. They are now no more cooperative than they were in the beginning. The interest paid by borrowers continues to be drained out of the local communities, absorbed very largely in upkeep of the elaborate overhead

organizations—the Production Credit Corporations, the Intermediate Credit Banks, and Farm Credit Administration. The trend has been for the intricate overhead system to become a powerful bureaucratic political machine. At the beginning of 1944, after eleven years of operation, the government owned 74 per cent of the stock in the production credit associations; farmers owning only 26 per cent. When all factors are taken into consideration it does not appear likely that the set-up will ever become a really cooperative system. Opposition is now principally expressed by the bankers who would like to see the production credit associations liquidated in order to give them again a free field in handling short-term loans. But this is not the way out. Rid of competition, interest rates charged by the banks would immediately go up. The one way of progress is through the development of Credit Unions, organized and operated by the farmers themselves.

NEW DEVELOPMENT IN COOPERATION.—In the State of New York a movement is under way for cooperation between the Rural Department of the State Council of Churches and the Grange League Federation. As yet no report of developments is available in printed form. Exploration meetings have been held, the Rev. Irvin Kelley of Barre Center Presbyterian Church, Albion, New York, writes, which have brought together representatives of various county agencies and business groups. Present were bankers and teachers, pastors and health workers, F.S.A. representatives and women's club leaders. By intention there were no "findings" or resolutions but, "We got a better view of rural needs and available facilities for meeting them."

Racial Discrimination

THE WAR AND RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICA.—The war has not only increased opportunities for the advancement of minority groups and far more inter-racial cooperation but also has created and accentuated race problems. Nevertheless, "in the five years since the second World War began the Negro in the United States has made greater progress than in any decade in the last half-century." This is the considered judgment of Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, generally recognized to be one of the best informed men in U.S.A. on Negro-white relations, expressed in an extensive discussion of "American Race Relations in Wartime," Supplement to *The Christian News-Letter* (London), No. 224. Chief among the encouraging factors in the national situation, Dr. Stokes believes, are: (1) The increased realization that the breaking down of all legal racial discriminations is of vital importance to the American democratic experiment and for the reputation of the United States abroad; (2) the facts of inter-racial relations as never before are being faced on a basis of broader knowledge and a longer experience; (3) a larger group than ever before exists in the South today determined on giving the Negro larger opportunities and better facilities; (4) competent Negro leadership is now organized on a national scale for more effective action on public opinion and in political life; (5) various influential groups—particularly labor groups—are more intelligently and constructively interested than heretofore in inter-racial problems; (6) the Federal Government is doing more in the way of employing Negroes and protecting their rights; and, finally, (7) the Churches are, in general, showing aggressive leadership in improving the status of the Negro.

Dr. Stokes sees in the influence of extreme Nazi ideological concepts of race on the thinking of the United States and other distant democracies one of the clearest examples of the close-knit character of the modern world. "We all condemn," he says, "the *Herrenvolk* idea as both unscientific

and un-Christian, but in the final analysis the "white supremacy doctrine held by large groups of people in the South, and some in the North, is closely akin to it in theory. The old doctrine of white supremacy as an inherent and permanent factor in civilization is dying hard. . . . So the war, by raising the *Herrenvolk* issue in the case of Germany, has driven home to us in the United States that we are subject to attack on the ground of inconsistency and insincerity if we as a democracy make any requirements for voting or office-holding that do not treat white men and colored men exactly on the same objective basis."

A more intelligent and deeper interest in race relations is to be seen in the increased space given by representative newspapers and magazines to various phases of the race question, and in the very large number of pamphlets and books published on the subject. The literature of race has been increasing rapidly. Significant advance in the status of colored people is evidenced by many instances such, for example, as the election of W. E. B. Du Bois, sociologist and publicist, to membership in the National Institute of Arts and Letters, the first time that a Negro has been thus honored; the appointment of Ralph Bunche to a position in the State Department, the first appointment of a Negro to such a position; the reorganization of Sydenham Hospital, New York City, placing it on an inter-racial basis as regards trustees, physicians, nurses, and patients, the first significant attempt to develop a truly inter-racial hospital in this country; and the starting of an inter-racial Church in San Francisco with associated white and colored pastors. While there is much on the debit side, there have been almost no definitely backward steps on the part of the Government.

CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY THREATEN THEMSELVES.—Karl von Wiegand in the *New York American* predicts that the rise of Russia imperils the white race and white supremacy. He sees the disillusioned white and colored peoples of the world rising under Russia's leadership to wipe out Christianity and democracy. . . . Now, what are Russia's plans? I do not pretend to know. . . . But there are several things I do know, namely: that the treatment of the darker races under 'democracy' has been totalitarian (imperialistic); that in every land on earth there are peoples, colored and white, who look to Russia as their savior from this; and finally, that the next aspirant for world dictatorship is not going to make the great mistake that Hitler did, namely, to speak as contemptuously as he did of the darker races. . . . Perhaps von Wiegand is right as regards the peril. . . . [He] is dead wrong, however, when he says that Russia threatens 'those things we have cherished.' Who, I ask, threatens them more: Russia, who is 5,000 miles away, or we, ourselves, who abuse them and handle them so carelessly?" Speaking is J. A. Rogers, in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Negro weekly. He continues: "America stands out today as the champion of democracy against totalitarianism—economic and otherwise, but the result to date is disheartening even to the most patient, the most optimistic. For instance, in this war to the death with a common foe she had to have segregation in the armed forces, thus making it possible to give inferior, and at times very unjust treatment to certain of her own fighting men. . . . In *Phylon*, the Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture. . . . W. Y. Bell, Jr., . . . tells of the reactions of Negro soldiers, some of whom fought with distinction in New Guinea, to Jim Crow. Some of what they have said reaches the high point of bitterness and satire. One who resisted Jim Crow and was threatened with a revolver by a white policeman threw up his hands and said, 'Go on, shoot, shoot me through the heart. It's your country and I am supposed to die for it.' Another, when a dining-car conductor drew a screen between him and the white passengers on a diner, said, 'I just hope he's around to put up a screen to protect me from his German brothers' bullets.' Still another, a 'taciturn, unsmiling Southern lad,

said he hoped Hitler would win because then he will treat American white people the way they treat us. They'll know then what it feels like to be treated like dogs. They'll understand how we feel. Then we'll all get somewhere.' The writer adds about this youth, 'Venomous, frightening, his personality warped and twisted by prejudice, he probably walks somewhere in the South today, tight-lipped, bitter, a human package of dynamite waiting to explode.' Multiply this youth by millions . . . and you'll get an idea of the vials of wrath that are waiting to be uncorked. No, no, it is not Russia that threatens democracy and Christianity. It is Christianity and democracy that threaten themselves."

DRAFTING OF NURSES VS. UNUSED NURSES.—The need for nurses is such that drafting is required, say the Army and the Navy. Yet it is reported that in New York City alone there are 1,200 Negro nurses available who have not been called for service with the armed forces. Addressing the National Negro Congress on Jan. 13 on behalf of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Mrs. Maybell K. Staupers declared that Negro nurses "have been ready and willing to serve in the Army Nurse Corps and the Navy Nurse Corps" yet the Surgeon General reports that thus far only 300 have been called, none of them by the Navy. "Efforts of Negro nurses to serve to capacity have been thwarted by many types of discriminatory practices. . . . Negro nurses recognize the urgent need for care for all American soldiers." Congress is urged "to place this service on the basis of need of care for American soldiers and not on the basis of limitations because of race, color, creed, or national origin."

FEDERATION MEMBERS: *Write your Congressmen.*

The Church and Labor

SIGNIFICANT INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE.—Much interest attaches to the departure for England of four U.S.A. trade unionist women, at the invitation of the British Ministry of Information, on a goodwill exchange trip. One of the members of the delegation, Mrs. Grace Blackett, a member of U.A.W. Local 50 at the Ford Willow Run plant, an aircraft parts assembler, and chairman of the National U.A.W.—C.I.O. Women's Committee. The second C.I.O. representative is Anne Murkovich, a native of Yugoslavia who came to America as a child, received her education in the schools of Jessville, Mich., and Chisholm, Minn., and for some years has been an organizer for the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, an affiliate of the Textile Workers Union. Delegates appointed by A.F.L. are Mrs. Julia Parker of Boston, member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Mrs. Maida Stewart Springer, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers. Of special interest is the fact that Mrs. Springer is a Negro—the first American Negro woman to represent American labor abroad.

If Your BULLETIN Stops

If, dear reader, you awaken some day in the near future to the fact that the **SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN** is no longer coming to your address do not lay it to the charge of the Federation office or Uncle Sam's mail service. Only your own neglect will be to blame. Notice was given in the November issue that the Federation could not continue to send the **BULLETIN** indefinitely to members who fail to renew their membership. In addition to the printed notice, letters have been sent to several hundred members who are two or more years in arrears. Federation members may forget, but printers do not suffer a lapse of memory aent overdue bills. Please! Attend promptly to that little matter of sending in your renewal.

Guiding Principles of the Peace

(Continued from page 2)

We have ushered God out of our commerce. In private relations we recognize the moral law of God, but not in the wider ranges of international industry, trade, banking, exploitation of resources, and exploitation of distant, unknown peoples. As Protestants we have stood aside and looked on while our world swept into new complexities of trade and industrial relations and have not dared make God regnant in this realm. Who then is the sinner in this war for the world's markets and mines and empires? Without a doubt, Germany and Japan are criminals. But just what is their crime? Is it that of highway robbery? Or is it the crime of hi-jacking from others whose moral title is itself clouded?

We are all caught in a spiral of modern "progress" which is sweeping us all alike toward destruction. Our war is like a quarrel on an ice-flow that is being sucked out to sea. No modern nation has as yet learned how to catch a new tide that will save us all—and when we do we shall be saved together. The fatal tide now sucking us on is the acceptance of the modern way of life: industrialization, urbanization, growth of population, expansion of trade, production and wealth, obsession with material things, comfort, and self-expression. So comes stronger and stronger group solidarity, fear for security, accentuated nationhood, state-absolutism and, finally, the struggle for power with the one nearest in strength or degree of "progress" along this same spiral.

Who will save us from the body of this death? We may thank God that in the inescapable ethic of Jesus Christ we have both the condemnation and the redemption. And this may be ours as individuals and as nations. It is not too late to lay hold upon his Cross in deep-plowing penitence and change of heart for our own share in this catastrophe, and to set about with clear-headed determination to work out, and challenge our society to execute, the beginning of a New Order for our world. Let us call upon our President to keep his promise: "We shall win this war, and in victory we shall seek not vengeance, but the establishment of an international order in which the spirit of Christ shall rule the hearts of men and of nations."

Specific Recommendations

The recommendations of the Cleveland Conference for improvement of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are these:

(1) *Development of International Law.*—Operation of the Organization under international law should be clearly anticipated in the Charter and provision for the development and codification of international law should be specifically incorporated.

(2) *Voting Power.*—A nation while having the right to discuss its own case should not be permitted to vote when its case is being judged by a predetermined body of international law.

(3) *Amendment.*—In order to permit such changes in the Charter of the Organization as may from time to time become necessary, the provision for Amendments should be liberalized so as not to require concurrence by *all* the permanent members of the Security Council.

(4) *Colonial and Dependent Areas.*—A special agency or commission should be established wherein the progress of colonial and dependent areas to autonomy, and the interim problems related thereto, may become an international responsibility.

(5) *Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.*—A special commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms should be established in addition to the economic and social agencies proposed under the Economic and Social Council.

(6) *Eventual Universal Membership.*—The Charter should clearly specify that all nations willing to accept the obligations of membership shall thereupon be made members of the organization.

(7) *Limitation of Armaments.*—More specific provision should be made for promptly initiating the limitation and reduction of national armaments.

(8) *Preamble.*—A preamble should reaffirm those long-range purposes of justice and human welfare which are set forth in the Atlantic Charter and which reflect the aspirations of peoples everywhere.

Has your church or any group within your church, engaged in study of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals? Are members prepared to register their convictions? Have they been encouraged by every means at your disposal to do so at once? As this issue of the BULLETIN goes to press, there is yet time to urge strongly upon the State Department specific improvements upon which the Christian citizen would surely insist in giving support to the basic recommendations of Dumbarton Oaks. But time is running out.

A Cell in Every Church

(Continued from page 7)

There is a quality to the small group which is of the essence of democracy. In quiet, "away from the disputatious assemblies of people", those attuned to silence and the infinite may find the answer to their problems in a fundamental way that large-scale organizations can only approximate. Here "the sense of the meeting" can rule, that atmosphere of mutual confidence in making decisions which counting heads so poorly approximates. Here the members of the brotherhood can truly practice the "unlimited liability" for each other which is the often mentioned but rarely seen practice of Biblical fraternity. Here also a center of authority is created which, with corresponding groups, affords the substratum to all democracy on the larger map. For liberty is only possible in a society where there are centers of organization other than the political. And the democratic strength of any organization rests upon the lively awareness of small local groups. Large organizations can be more democratic and revealing of the spirit of voluntarism if their basic unit is small. "A comparatively large voluntary social group, with a membership running into thousands, can keep the real spirit of democracy, provided that its primary units of discussion—its branches and lodges—are vigorous and alive."¹

This is the basic argument for the "cell". We need to spread less thinly over a wide area of problems, and to concentrate on vigorously coping with carefully defined issues. If the discipline suggested seems like "another meeting", the slogan of the Cell is: "We eliminate two meetings for every one we add." But the main point is not that the fellowship group is needed to get things done, nor even that it trains people more adequately. Rather we note that in the free give and take of judgment in the small fellowship some things are discovered that can be experienced in no other way. Remember that ". . . a good Methodist class meeting should bring out the state of the spiritual life of those members, revealing their problems and their tendencies, their difficulties, and likes, and so provide available guidance to the right approach to their minds."² For an organization taking things on authority this process is meaningless; but for a movement which believes that in the basic democracy of the small community a way of life is revealed, the method of approach becomes very important.

¹ Lindsay, A. D., *The Essentials of Democracy* (U. of Penna. Press, 1929), p. 38.

² Spencer, Malcolm, and Hewish, H. S., *Fellowship Principles and Practice* (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1930), p. 100.

NOTE: This is the first in a series of three articles by Franklin H. Littell on this general subject.

Books and Pamphlets

The Social Gospel of Walter Rauschenbusch and Its Relation to Religious Education, Vernon Parker Bodein (Yale University Press, New Haven, \$3.00). A narrative study of the spiritual and intellectual experience—a significant and interesting parallel to that of John Wesley, Shaftesbury, and William Booth—of one of the great prophets of modern Christianity.

What About Our Japanese-Americans, Carey McWilliams. (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 91, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. 10¢.) A clear, sane, factual statement that should be an effective antidote for prejudice and hatred. A condensation of a larger, comprehensive, and fully documented statement prepared by the author for the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The Road to Serfdom, Friedrich A. Hayek (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 250 pp., \$2.75.) This book will give much aid and comfort to the enemies of all we stand for. It is also a challenge to us to check the course of the road that we have taken into the future. Written by an Austrian professor of economics, for some years on the faculty of the London School of Economics, it is a political book, as he frankly says. So it does not use the scientific method of analysis of data, but the philosophic method of argumentation. The author is defending his belief in the Nineteenth Century philosophy of individualism. His guiding principle is "that a policy of freedom for the individual is the only truly progressive policy." So he attacks with every weapon at his command economic planning, and all forms of collectivism, as deadly enemies of freedom.

Hayek's main thesis is that economic planning necessarily leads to the dictatorial, regimented state. His secondary thesis is that the rise of fascism and nazism was not "a reaction against the socialist trends of the preceding period but the outcome of them." Dovetailing these, he concludes that, because of the amount of demand for economic planning there is in England and the United States and because economic planning is the necessary form of organization for all kinds of socialism, these countries have set out on the same road that Germany traveled, are on the way to the totalitarian state.

At first this is stated as a probability but before long we are told, "That democratic socialism, the great utopia of the last few generations, is not only unachievable, but that to strive for it produces something so different that few of those who now wish it would be prepared to accept the consequences . . ." From then on we are stopped short again and again by Olympian statements to the same effect, on the assumption that this has been completely proved. We are repeatedly told that there is no alternative to the all-powerful, coercive state and the automatic working of the impersonal forces of the competitive market. So "the road to freedom" is transformed into "the road to serfdom" to become the scare-head title, with a chain pictured on the jacket, of a book published by a university press.

There is nothing new about Hayek's argument concerning the relation of economic planning to freedom, except the absurd lengths to which he carries it. Practically all of it was said by Belloe thirty years ago in "The Servile State." Like the same argument by our American anti-planners, Lippman and Chamberlain, it proceeds from an assumption which conceals the conclusion in the premise. That assumption is that economic planning means overhead planning by the state or some authority to whom state power has been delegated. On almost every other page of the book the words "the central state," "controller," "the authority" appear in place of the term "economic planning" in which the general thesis is stated. To individualistic liberals the state is always an overhead regulating agency. Its democracy is limited to doing things for the people. To give this state the powers involved in overall economic planning would of course make it authoritarian and totalitarian. That is self evident. It does not need pages of argument. Those socially-minded Christians who have been thinking of the future in terms of a state-planned economy will be unsettled by Hayek's book. They need to be. But those who have been thinking of economic planning by the people for themselves will proceed upon their course, untroubled by an obvious fallacy.

The argument that there is something in the nature of planning that requires it to be totalitarian is completely disproved by developments in the Soviet Union, the only land where com-

plete social-economic planning has been tried. Since the five-year plans went in the government has become less totalitarian, not more. A more democratic constitution has been adopted. This is because the planning was actual economic democracy, all the workers and technicians cooperating with the planning experts in making the plan and sharing in the control of the results. So political democracy has followed economic democracy.

The time has come when the case for or against planning is being settled by history, not by academic argument. It is being settled in Russia and the United States. The one is succeeding with socialist planning; the other attempting democratic capitalist planning. Both have plenty of difficulties to overcome. As I read Hayek I found my experience and study in the Soviet Union, and the data gathered since, contradicting every one of his assertions about what overall planning would do to people. There it does not destroy the initiative and the morals of the people; it does not bring the worst people to the top.

Also the Soviet Union has completely exploded the old fallacy, which Hayek belabors again, that modern life is too complex to be understood, let alone planned. Of course it is for any one man or one group of experts. But the complex Soviet plan and the sureness of the results show that what the people cannot do separately they can do together. This includes the problem of uniting many nationalities—some advanced, others backward—which to Hayek, is beyond the moral capacities of man. He does not understand that by his faith in the impersonal, spontaneous forces of competition, his insistence that life is so complex that man can never understand enough of it to successfully consciously control it, he is setting arbitrary limits to man's moral development.

The evidence offered by Hayek in support of his secondary thesis that fascism and nazism were a development of preceding socialist trends and not a reaction against them is so selected, so lacking in any mention, let alone weighing, of contrary trends, that Prof. Hansen of Harvard, after summing it up in his article in the *New Republic*, (January 1, 1945) properly observes that by such methods any theory of history one chooses to select can be proved.

Concerning the current trends in England and the United States he talks in terms only of the current of ideas as though they determined the course of history regardless of economic forces, except for a slight recognition of the British trend toward state supported cartels. There again the counter forces are ignored, and the value of his protest is lessened by his emphasis upon the kind of talk he hears in intellectual circles, and his acceptance of the saying that support of social security measures means that "we are all socialists now."

As for the United States the situation is almost exactly contrary to his thesis. Our "ruling ideas," as he calls them, are those of his beloved "free enterprise" to which even those who are striving for some planned social and economic security under a capitalist economy must profess allegiance. Since the size of our war economy and the greater size of our post-war needs compel us to measures of state capitalism, our danger is not socialist planning developing into fascism, but a fascist instead of a democratic state capitalism taking us into a fascist political state. That can happen under the illusion of preserving "free enterprise," exactly the illusion that Hayek is strengthening.

So instead of warning and help he brings us only more confusion and danger. On the national scene he adds to the "free enterprise" propaganda of our most reactionary forces. On the international scene he provides more ammunition for our isolationists and imperialists. His contention that international planning is impossible, his glorification of competition is intellectual underpinning for their exact position in the aviation conference. And if they are not defeated, they will wreck the world again.

The irony of this situation is that these men whose propagandists will use him as their academic authority will never read him enough to see how at the end, in the one practical proposal he permits himself to advance, he completely nullifies his whole argument. For this man who contends that international economic planning involves a supernational political body with power to coerce every nation and all people in it—an unthinkable monstrosity—actually advocates an international political authority which can effectively limit the powers of the state over the individual, as one of the best safeguards of peace. Such coercion he thinks would lead to a "community of nations of free men."—HARRY F. WARD.